

# A History of Islam in America

*From the New World to the  
New World Order*

*For*

*Kamala and Daryush*

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## DE-NEGROFICATION OF ENSLAVED AFRICAN MUSLIMS

One of the most striking aspects of the sources on the early history of Islam in America is the way in which African Muslims are disassociated in them from contemporary, popular perceptions of the “typical” Muslim or black African. To refer to these processes by which prejudicial patterns of cultural stereotypes are interrupted in shorthand, I employ the terms “de-negrofication” and “de-Islamicization.” Some scholars have referred to the disassociation of individual black Africans in America from Africa or the “typical” black African as “de-Africanization,”<sup>28</sup> but as we shall see, their disassociation from Africa or African cultures was not as significant as their disassociation from Negroid attributes and stereotypes. For this reason, de-negrofication may be a more apt descriptive for us to employ. Thomas Bluett, the biographer of Job Ben Solomon (Ayuba ibn Sulayman), a Fulbe Muslim of some rank from Bundu who was captured by Mandingo bandits and sold to the English on the Gambia River, wrote of Job that “his Countenance was exceedingly pleasant, yet grave and composed; his hair [was] long, black, and curled, being very different from that of the Negroes commonly brought from *Africa*.”<sup>29</sup> ‘Umar ibn Said, a Fulbe from Futa Toro who was captured around 1807 when

<sup>27</sup> Gomez, “Muslims in Early America,” 680.

<sup>28</sup> See for examples, Austin, *African Muslims: Transatlantic Stories*, 15; and Zahid H. Bukhari et al., ed., *Muslims’ Place in the American Public Square: Hope, Fears, and Aspirations* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004), xvii.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Bluett, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda in Africa* (London: Printed for Richard Ford, at the Angel in the Poultry, 1744), 46. A digitized version of this work can be found at the UNC Library’s “Documenting the American South” web site: <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/bluett/menu.html> (accessed August 28, 2009).



FIGURE 1. Ambrotype of ‘Umar ibn Said. From the North Carolina Collection in the Photograph Archives of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Bundu, Kaarta, and Khasso joined forces to counter the Muslim jihads and invaded Futa Toro in 1806–1807<sup>30</sup> was regularly referred to as an “Arabian prince.”<sup>31</sup> The author of an anonymous article in *Farmer and Mechanic* (1888), sidestepping geography, magically transported this Fulbe from West Africa to Arabia to make ‘Umar “a hereditary prince of the Foulah tribe in Arabia.” It also made him a specimen of “white beauty”: “His hair was straight. His features and form were as perfect as those of an Apollo Belvidere.... [H]e was no ordinary person, and was certainly not a negro.”<sup>32</sup> Observers less inclined toward mythic depictions of ‘Umar described him as “a fine looking man, copper colored, though an African.”<sup>33</sup>

Descriptions of Ibrahima ‘Abdul Rahman, who claimed to be the son of the famous Ibrahima Sori (the *Almamy* or religious and political leader

<sup>30</sup> Gomez, “Muslims in Early America,” 690–691.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, Louis T. Moore, “Prince of Arabia,” *Greensboro Daily News*, February 13, 1927, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 493–498.

<sup>32</sup> “Prince Omeroh,” in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 489.

<sup>33</sup> J. E. Foard, “A True Story of an African Prince in a Southern Home,” published in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 478.

of the Futa Jallon around 1751–1784),<sup>34</sup> differed depending on the way in which he was intended to be received by the public. Those who sought to evoke pity for ‘Abdul Rahman’s plight de-negroified him, as Cyrus Griffin, the editor of the *Southern Galaxy*, did:

That Prince [‘Abul Rahman’s slave name] is a Moor, there can be but little doubt. He is six feet in height; and though sixty-five years of age he has the vigor of the meridian of life. When he arrived in this country, his hair hung in flowing ringlets far below his shoulders. Much against his will, his master compelled him to submit to sheers, and this ornament, which the Moor would part with in his own county only with his life, since that time he has entirely neglected. It has become coarse, and in some degree curly. His skin, also, by long service in the sun, and the privations of bondage, has been materially changed; and his whole appearance indicates the Foolah rather than the Moor. But Prince states explicitly, and with an air of pride, that not a drop of negro blood runs in his veins. He places the negro in a scale being infinitely below the Moor.<sup>35</sup>

Once ‘Abdul Rahman and his wife, Isabella, were redeemed from slavery with the help of John Quincy Adams’s administration, they toured the North for ten months in 1828 to raise money for the ransom of their adult children before being transported by the American Colonization Society to Liberia. In parts of the South, ‘Abdul Rahman’s tour raised concerns about the Adams administration using ‘Abdul Rahman as “a traveling emancipator”<sup>36</sup> to agitate against slavery in its presidential campaign

<sup>34</sup> R. Cornevin, “Futa Djallon,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Clifford E. Bosworth et al., 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1986), vol. 2, 959a.

<sup>35</sup> Cyrus Griffin, “The Unfortunate Moot,” *Natchez Southern Galaxy*, December 13, 1827, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 135. Elsewhere Griffin writes: “Prince is a Moor. Of this, however, his present appearance suggests a doubt. The objection is that ‘he is too dark for a Moor and his hair is short and curly.’ It is true such is his present appearance; but it was materially different on his arrival in this country. His hair was at that time, soft and very long, to a degree that precludes the possibility of his being a negro. His complexion, too has undergone a change. Although modern physiology does not allow color to be a necessary effect of climate, still one fact is certain that a constant exposure to a vertical sun for many years, together with the privations incident to the lower order of community, and an inattention to cleanliness, will produce a very material change in the complexion. It is true his lips are thicker than are usually, those of the Moor; but the animal frame is not that of the negro; his eyes, and, in fact, his entire physiognomy is unlike that of any negro we have ever seen. And if the facial angle be an infallible criterion the point is established, his being equal and perhaps greater, than most of the whites.” Griffin, *Natchez Southern Galaxy*, June 5, 1828, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 139–140.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Marschalk, “Mr. Adams and the emancipation of Slaves and the Violation of the Faith of the Administration,” *Natchez Statesman and Gazette*, October 16, 1828; reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 202.

against Andrew Jackson, a southern slave owner. ‘Abdul Rahman’s story was so well known that a handbill distributed in Louisiana four days before the election in 1828 read:

LOUISIANIANS! (sic) Remember that ANDREW JACKSON IS A MAN OF THE SOUTH, A SLAVE HOLDER, A COTTON PLANTER. Recollect the iniquitous and profligate PLOT of ADAMS and CLAY to excite the prejudices of your Northern brethren against the SOUTH by employing an emancipated NEGRO TO ELECTIONEER FOR THEM.<sup>37</sup>

The southern papers, in an attempt to slander Adams, depicted ‘Abdul Rahman as a “savage negro” in order to diminish any pity he may have gained in the public eye.

In his journey through the free states he has artfully concealed the fact, of which in Mississippi he used to boast, that he himself in Africa owned 2000 slaves whom he could kill and whip (and did kill, torture, and whip) as he pleased.... He neglected to dry the weeping eyes of the Bostonians by telling the fact to which hundreds can testify, that Mr. Foster had continually to keep an eye upon him and to curb his sanguinary temper to prevent him from exercising cruelty on his fellow servants. He neglected to tell that his African schemes of torture and his blood thirsty disposition caused him to be viewed by the negroes of the neighborhood as the *bug bear or negro devil*, whose very name would terrify the unruly into obedience.<sup>38</sup>

African Muslims were painfully aware of the oppressive linkage slavery reinforced between one’s color and humanity. In the 1850s, Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua, an enslaved Muslim from an elite merchant family in Djougou, observed that “some persons suppose that the African has none of the finer feelings of humanity within his breast, and that the milk of human kindness runs not through his composition; this is an error, an error of the grossest kind;... the only difference is their color, and that has been arranged by him who made the world and all that therein is.”<sup>39</sup> Nicholas Said, born Muhammad ibn Sa’id in Kouka in the kingdom of Borno, similarly commented that “Africa has been, through prejudice and ignorance, so sadly misrepresented, that anything like intelligence, industry, etc., is

<sup>37</sup> As reprinted in *New Orleans Louisiana Advertiser*, November 4, 1828, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 226.

<sup>38</sup> P. K. Wagner, “To the Freemen of Louisiana,” *New Orleans Louisiana Advertiser*, October 25, 1828, 2; reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 216–217.

<sup>39</sup> Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003), 145–146; *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 622.

believed not to exist among its natives.”<sup>40</sup> Other African Muslims did not share in Baquaqua’s and Said’s sober attitude toward skin color; they sought to disassociate themselves from Negroid stereotypes and complied with whites’ de-negrofication of them. The journal of the South Carolina Royal Council records a petition from 1753 on behalf of individuals captured in 1736 by the Portuguese in a battle for “Maguson.”<sup>41</sup> A Captain Henry Daubrig purchased their freedom on the condition that they would serve him in South Carolina for five years. Once in South Carolina, however, they were sold to Daniel LaRoche, for whom they slaved for fifteen years. Their petition was written in “Arabick” by “Abel Conder” (‘Abd al-Qadir?) and “Mahamut” (Mahmud), requesting to be freed from slavery because they were “Moors” from “Sali on the Barbary Coast” and not black Africans.<sup>42</sup> Cyrus Griffin of the *Southern Galaxy* wrote that ‘Abdul Rahman claimed that “not a drop of negro blood runs in his veins.”<sup>43</sup> Similar assertions were attributed to ‘Umar ibn Said: “Some thought occasionally that Moreau was of negro extraction. He always emphasized the fact that he was an Arabian and not a native of Africa.”<sup>44</sup>

In their collaboration with whites’ de-negrofication of them, African Muslims were in part acting out of self-interest. They hoped that such complicity could gain them better treatment and possibly passage back to Africa. Furthermore, as Gomez has suggested, they may have been “deeply affected by racist views of whites toward other Africans” and thus sought to “deny any similarity to them.”<sup>45</sup> At the same time, African Muslims also displayed a certain sense of superiority. Most of the documented African Muslims in antebellum America, in fact, derived from noble and literate backgrounds, levels of cultivation that attracted the attention of white Americans. In *A Twelvemonth’s Residence in the West Indies*, for example, Richard Madden prefaced his discussion of the African Muslims he had met in Jamaica by stating that “[t]he Mandingos are said to be superior in intelligence to the other classes.

<sup>40</sup> Said, *The Autobiography of Nicholas Said*, 13–14.

<sup>41</sup> This was most likely the Portuguese fort city of Mazagan, which stood where El Jadida stands today. Mazagan was recaptured by Moroccans in 1769.

<sup>42</sup> *South Carolina Council Journal*, note 21 (March 3, 1753), 298–299; James W. Hagy, “Muslim Slaves, Abducted Moors, African Jews, Misnamed Turks, and an Asiatic Greek Lady: Some Examples of Non-European Religious and Ethnic Diversity in South Carolina Prior to 1861,” *Carologue: Bulletin of the South Carolina Historical Society* 9 (1993), 25–26; and Gomez, *Black Crescent*, 149.

<sup>43</sup> Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 73.

<sup>44</sup> Moore, “Prince of Arabia,” cited, 494.

<sup>45</sup> Gomez, “Muslims in Early America,” 704.

Many of them read and write Arabic; and my own experience confirms the account of Bryan Edwards<sup>46</sup> as to their priding themselves on their mental superiority over the other negroes.”<sup>47</sup> These enslaved Muslims, then, emerged from elites of West African societies, and thus it is not surprising that they elevated themselves over other black Africans. There is also evidence that as Muslims they held themselves above black pagans and perhaps even white Christians. ‘Abdul Rahman, for example, rebuked white Christians: “I tell you the Testament very good law, you no follow it; you no pray often enough; you greedy after money.” “You good man, you join the religion?” “See, you want more land, more neegurs; you make neegur work hard.” He explained that in his country, there is a superior order. “I tell you, man own slaves – he join the religion – he very good – he make he slaves work till noon – go to church – then till the sun go down they work for themselves – they raise cotton, sheep, cattle, plenty, plenty.”<sup>48</sup> Georgia Bryan Conrad, on a visit to the Spalding plantation in Sapelo Island, Georgia, observed that Bilali Muhammad’s family, from Timbo, “held themselves aloof from the others as if they were conscious of their own superiority.”<sup>49</sup> During the War of 1812, when British troops landed on the shores of South Carolina, Bilali is reported to have offered to help his master defend the plantation with the retort that “I will answer for every Negro of the true faith but not for these Christian dogs of yours.”<sup>50</sup> ‘Umar ibn Said was also said to have been “very religious and never associated with the other negro slaves.”<sup>51</sup> William B. Hodgson, who had served in the U.S. consulates of Algiers, Constantinople, and Tunis and who was a founding member of the American Oriental Society, a member of the American Philosophical and Ethnological Societies,<sup>52</sup> and a friend

<sup>46</sup> See Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (London: J. Stockdale, 1794), 65.

<sup>47</sup> R. R. Madden, *A Twelvemonth’s Residence in the West Indies, During the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship*, vol. 1 (London: James Cochrane and Co., 1835), 127. See also Madden, “Letter IX, to J. F. Savory, March 30, 1835,” in *Twelvemonth’s*, vol. 1, 98–102, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 547.

<sup>48</sup> Cyrus Griffin, *Natchez Southern Galaxy*, May 29, June 5 and 12, and July 5, 1828, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 142–143.

<sup>49</sup> Georgia Bryan Conrad, “Reminiscences of a Southern Woman,” *Southern Workman* 30, no. 5 (May 1901), 252.

<sup>50</sup> Ella May Thornton, *Law Library Journal*, XLVIII (1955): 228–229, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 291.

<sup>51</sup> Calvin Leonard, “The Story of Prince Omeroh,” a Greensboro (NC) newspaper, March 25, 1934, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 500.

<sup>52</sup> Austin, *African Muslims: Transatlantic Stories*, 111.

of James Hamilton Couper, the owner of another enslaved Bilali, Salih Bilali of Massina, in his *Notes on Northern Africa* made similar observations about the Fulbe (or Fula) in general: "The Foulahs of every region represent themselves to be *white* men, and proudly assert their superiority to the black tribes among whom they live."<sup>53</sup>

Enslaved African Muslims' sense of superiority can be attributed both to their own background as slaveholders and to the West African jihads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which pitted Muslims against non-Muslims in an effort to purge West Africa of paganism. As Michael Gomez has argued, enslaved African Muslims' sense of superiority resulted in a significant stratification of African American society. "Vis-à-vis other Africans, and consistent with the record in Brazil and the Caribbean," Gomez writes, "Muslims were generally viewed by slaveholders as 'more intelligent, more reasonable, more physically attractive, more dignified people.'"<sup>54</sup> Ulrich Bonnell Phillips cites slaveholders' preference for the Senegalese, "who had a strong Arabic strain in their ancestry" to employ as "commanders over other negroes."<sup>55</sup> In 1803, Dr. Collins described the predominantly Muslim Senegalese as a "handsome race of people, in features resembling the whites.... Many of them converse in the Arabic language, and some are sufficiently instructed even to write it. They are excellent for the care of cattle and horses, and for domestic services; though little qualified for the ruder labours of the field."<sup>56</sup> Another reason for slave owners' preference of Muslims may have been that they came from Senegambia, a region known for its expert knowledge of rice and indigo cultivation.<sup>57</sup>

In other words, African Muslims cooperated in their own denegrofication both for "racial" benefits they stood to gain, and out of the intrinsic sense of superiority to which they felt entitled by virtue of their ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Further benefits could have been accrued by labeling an African slave a "Moor." This term originally denoted Muslims of Arab and Berber background in Northwest Africa (modern day Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Mauritania) who conquered Southern Spain in the eighth century. They were generally supposed to have dark or black skin even though "white Moors" were also recognized. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America, Moors were more specifically associated with the inhabitants of independent and semi-independent states of the Barbary Coast, which played an important role in the Mediterranean trade. Pirating and privateering had been a common practice in which both Europeans and North Africans engaged for centuries. States used both diplomatic and military means to safeguard their merchant vessels in the Mediterranean from pirates and privateers. The American public at the turn of the nineteenth century was well aware of the so-called Barbary States (Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Kingdom of Morocco) and their corsairs in the Mediterranean Sea. The first merchant ship flying an American flag was seized on October 11, 1784 after several delays by the newly independent nation to form its own treaty with Sultan Sidi Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah of Morocco (r. 1757–1790). Thereafter, several other American ships were captured and members of their crews held for ransom. For the next three decades the United States' relationship with the Barbary States was negotiated through a series of amity treaties, U.S. tributes paid to the Barbary States, and military clashes that came to be known as the "Barbary Wars."<sup>58</sup> A number of Americans who fell victim to the corsairs of North Africa wrote about their experiences as "white, Christian slaves" in Muslim Africa.<sup>59</sup> This genre of captivity narrative had captured the American imagination at the turn of the nineteenth century to such an extent that some literary entrepreneurs published fictional Barbary captivity narratives.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> For discussion of U.S.-Barbary relations in this period, see Frank Lambert, *The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005); Richard B. Parker, *Uncles Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004); and Allison, *The Crescent Obscured*.

<sup>59</sup> For examples and an excellent overview of this genre of early American writings, see Paul Baepler, ed., *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

<sup>60</sup> See, for examples, Lucinda Martin [Maria Martin], *History of the Captivity And Sufferings of Mrs. Maria Martin, Who Was Six Years a Slave in Algiers: Two of Which She Was Confined in a Dark and Dismal Dungeon, Loaded with Irons* (Boston, MA: W. Carary, 1807); Mary Velnet, *The Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs. Mary Velnet, Who Was Seven Years a Slave in Tripoli, Three of Which She Was Confined in a Dungeon, Loaded with Irons, and Four Times Put to the Most Cruel Tortures Ever Invented by Man. To Which Is Added, The Lunatic Governor, and Adelaide, or the Triumph of Constancy, a*

<sup>53</sup> William B. Hodgson, *Notes on Northern Africa: The Sahara and Soudan* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1844), 50.

<sup>54</sup> Gomez, *The Black Crescent*, 173–184. See also Newbell N. Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1926), 528–529 and Charles Lyell, *Second Visit to the United States of America*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849), vol. 1, 266.

<sup>55</sup> Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Régime* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929), 42.

<sup>56</sup> Dr. Collins, *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies* (London: J. Barfield, 1803), 41–42.

<sup>57</sup> Gomez, "Muslims in Early America," 700.

Against this historical backdrop, enslaved Moors in the United States proved diplomatically valuable in U.S.-Barbary relations and to American trade in the Mediterranean. Andrew Marschalk realized this when he sent 'Abdul Rahman's Arabic letter to Thomas B. Reed, a U.S. senator from Mississippi, to forward to the "Emperor of Morocco" via the U.S. State Department. In his cover to 'Abdul Rahman's letter, Marschalk misidentified 'Abdul Rahman as belonging to "the royal family of Morocco." 'Abdul Rahman's letter itself seems to have been composed solely of some verses from the Qur'an; these verses were presumably all that he was able to write in Arabic after three decades of slaving in the United States. Thomas Mulloony, the U.S. consul in Tangier, recognized that the letter was intended to prove that 'Abdul Rahman was Muslim and showed it to the Pasha of the Moroccan ruler, who wanted the "Moor" to be freed and agreed to pay for all of his expenses. Mulloony advised the State Department to have 'Abdul Rahman sent to Morocco because "his liberty would give me an important power," presumably in negotiating the release of American captives and castaways from the Barbary shores and assuring the safe access for American ships to Mediterranean ports.<sup>61</sup> Later, when the Adams administration came under attack (ironically through the pen of Marschalk himself), for using 'Abdul Rahman as a tool against Andrew Jackson, Cyrus Griffin wrote in his own defense that he had suggested to Marschalk "the necessity of informing the President of the mistake, as there would be less reason for the interference of the government; (if indeed, the government would interfere at all, of which I had strong doubts) in relation to a personage, however, important, from the interior of Africa, than a native of one of the Barbary states, with which it was the highest importance that we maintain friendly relations."<sup>62</sup>

In considering 'Abdul Rahman's case, I do not want to overstate the importance of enslaved Moors for U.S.-Barbary relations. There is no

*Tale* (Boston, MA: T. Abbott, 1828); Thomas Nicholson, *An Affecting Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Thomas Nicholson [a Native of New Jersey] Who Has Been Six Years a Prisoner Among the Algerines, and from Whom He Fortunately Made His Escape a Few Months Previous to Commodore Decatur's Late Expedition. To Which Is Added, A Concise Description of Algiers of the Customs, Manners, Etc of the Natives – and Some Particulars of Commodore Decatur's Late Expedition, Against the Barbary Powers* (Boston, MA: Printed for G. Walker, 1816); cited in Baepler, *White Slaves*, 11.

<sup>61</sup> Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 98–101.

<sup>62</sup> Cyrus Griffin, *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 27, 1828, 3, orig. pub. in *Natchez Southern Galaxy*, October 23, 1828; reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 204.

evidence of the government interfering with the slave labor that black Muslims from Northwest Africa provided in the United States. Even when Secretary of State Henry Clay agreed to use Treasury funds to bring 'Abdul Rahman to Washington, D.C. "for the purpose of making favorable impressions on behalf of the United States," he made sure to attain the consent of 'Abdul Rahman's master and agreed to deny 'Abdul Rahman his liberty in the United States.<sup>63</sup> Incidentally, it was because of this stipulation that Marschalk and other Southerners were later angered by 'Abdul Rahman's tour with the American Colonization Society in the North and accused the Adams administration of lying and treating him as a tool against Andrew Jackson.

<sup>63</sup> Alford, *Prince among Slaves*, 107. See also Andrew Marschalk, "The Captive African Restored to Liberty: Letter from a Gentleman of Natchez to a Lady of Cincinnati," Natchez, April 7, 1828, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 149–151.

<sup>64</sup> Bluett, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job*, 51.

<sup>65</sup> This letter was reprinted several times. Marschalk, *Freedom's Journal of New York City*, March 16, 1828, 57, 61, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, ed. Austin, 149–151.

<sup>66</sup> Griffin to Gurley, Natchez, December 13, 1827, reprinted in *African Muslims: A Sourcebook*, 134–136.